

SENATE RECORD VOTE ANALYSIS

105th Congress
2nd Session

Vote No. 84

April 2, 1998, 10:13 pm
Page S-3107 Temp. Record

BUDGET RESOLUTION/Final Passage

SUBJECT: Senate Concurrent Budget Resolution for fiscal years 1999-2003, and revising the Concurrent Budget Resolution for fiscal year 1998 . . . S.Con. Res. 86. Final passage, as amended.

ACTION: CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AGREED TO, 57-41

SYNOPSIS: As passed, S.Con. Res. 86, the Senate Concurrent Budget Resolution for fiscal years 1999-2003, and revising the Concurrent Budget Resolution for fiscal year 1998, will balance the unified budget in fiscal year (FY) 1998 and will run surpluses for each of the next 5 fiscal years. Both Federal spending and Federal revenues will increase 3.5 percent from FY 1998 to FY 1999. All surpluses will be reserved for Social Security reform. A reserve fund will be established to allow the entire Federal share of revenues resulting from a potential tobacco settlement to be dedicated to bolstering Medicare's solvency. The resolution will adhere to all aspects of the bipartisan Budget Agreement of last year, including as enacted in the Balanced Budget Act (see 105th, 1st session, vote No. 209) and the Taxpayer Reform Act (see 105th Congress, 1st session, vote No. 211). Details are provided below.

(in billions)

Fiscal Year	Revenues	Budget Authority	Outlays	(all surpluses will be saved for Social Security) Surplus
1998	\$1679.7	\$1688.6	\$1671.9	\$7.8
1999	\$1738.4	\$1746.9	\$1730.0	\$8.4
2000	\$1783.6	\$1803.1	\$1782.1	\$1.5
2001	\$1846.5	\$1856.7	\$1833.5	\$13.0
2002	\$1929.8	\$1902.9	\$1862.7	\$67.1
2003	\$2007.6	\$1985.2	\$1948.6	\$59.0

In addition to overall totals, budget resolutions contain totals for broad function categories. They do not dictate the amounts to

YEAS (57)			NAYS (41)		NOT VOTING (2)	
Republicans (54 or 100%)	Democrats (3 or 7%)		Republicans (0 or 0%)	Democrats (41 or 93%)	Republicans (1)	Democrats (1)
Abraham	Hutchinson	Cleland	Akaka	Johnson	Helms- ^{2AN}	Inouye- ²
Allard	Hutchison	Moynihan	Baucus	Kennedy		
Ashcroft	Inhofe	Robb	Biden	Kerrey		
Bennett	Jeffords		Bingaman	Kerry		
Bond	Kempthorne		Boxer	Kohl		
Brownback	Kyl		Breaux	Landrieu		
Burns	Lott		Bryan	Lautenberg		
Campbell	Lugar		Bumpers	Leahy		
Chafee	Mack		Byrd	Levin		
Coats	McCain		Conrad	Lieberman		
Cochran	McConnell		Daschle	Mikulski		
Collins	Murkowski		Dodd	Moseley-Braun		
Coverdell	Nickles		Dorgan	Murray		
Craig	Roberts		Durbin	Reed		
D'Amato	Roth		Feingold	Reid		
DeWine	Santorum		Feinstein	Rockefeller		
Domenici	Sessions		Ford	Sarbanes		
Enzi	Shelby		Glenn	Torricelli		
Faircloth	Smith, Bob		Graham	Wellstone		
Frist	Smith, Gordon		Harkin	Wyden		
Gorton	Snowe		Hollings			
Gramm	Specter					
Grams	Stevens					
Grassley	Thomas					
Gregg	Thompson					
Hagel	Thurmond					
Hatch	Warner					

EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:

- 1—Official Business
- 2—Necessarily Absent
- 3—Illness
- 4—Other

SYMBOLS:

- AY—Announced Yea
- AN—Announced Nay
- PY—Paired Yea
- PN—Paired Nay

be spent on specific programs, but they are based on assumptions of spending levels. Those spending levels may be based in part on assumed changes to current laws. Additionally, revenue assumptions may be made based upon assumed changes to current law. Reconciliation instructions in a budget resolution direct authorizing committees to suggest changes to direct (mandatory) spending and revenues in order to meet any such assumed changes. Those suggested changes to permanent law are then considered in a reconciliation bill. In this case, though, no changes are assumed, so no reconciliation instructions are given.

If a budget resolution does not include changes in revenues or outlays for subsequent tax or spending legislation that presumably may be enacted, a mechanism called a "reserve fund" can be added to the resolution that will allow the Budget Committee Chairman to make adjustments to it after it has passed in order to accommodate such legislation, if necessary. Reserve funds have usually been included in budget resolutions either to approve the consideration later in the year of tax-and-spend proposals by Democrats or tax relief-spending cut proposals by Republicans. Without reserve funds, such proposals are subject to 60-vote points of order, even if they do not violate the "paygo" (deficit neutrality) requirement for tax and mandatory spending proposals. Tax cuts cannot be paid for with spending cuts, unless approved in a reserve fund, because such approval would trigger a 60-vote point of order against considering proposals that would lower projected revenues below the revenue floor set in the budget resolution. Similarly, new entitlement spending cannot be paid for with new taxes, unless approved in a reserve fund, because such approval would trigger a 60-vote point of order against entitlement spending in excess of the aggregate mandatory outlay ceiling set in the budget resolution. Reserve funds allow the floor and the ceiling to be changed, respectively, and thus avoid the points of order. This budget resolution contains a reserve fund that will require any Federal receipts that come from the enactment of tobacco legislation to be reserved for the Medicare Hospital Insurance Trust Fund. It also contains a tax relief reserve fund to permit the enactment of more than \$30 billion: in family tax relief (including for relief from the marriage tax penalty and for help with child care expenses incurred both for children in daycares and for children cared for by parents at home); and in tax relief to spur economic growth. In accordance with the Budget Agreement of last year, \$1 billion in new mandatory spending will be allowed on Superfund (hazardous waste site) cleanup if Superfund reforms are enacted. Finally, in accordance with the highway bill as approved by the Senate (see vote No. 30), funding for highways and mass transit will be increased beyond the levels agreed to in the Balanced Budget Act. Specifically, over the next 5 years contract authority for highways will be \$25.9 billion higher, outlays for highways will be \$18.5 billion higher, and budget authority for mass transit will be \$5 billion higher. Identified, specified, and reserved mandatory spending reductions will be allocated to the Appropriations Committee to offset \$18.5 billion in outlays for highways and \$5 billion in budget authority for mass transit. Those offsets include, at President Clinton's suggestion, a repeal of the Veterans Administration's general counsel's decision to classify smoking-related illnesses as a service-connected disability.

The resolution will adhere to the Annex Agreement (which is part of the Budget Agreement), reached between congressional leaders and the President last year. Under that agreement, funding for six budget functions (defense, international affairs, natural resources-environment, transportation, education-training-employment-social services, and administration of justice) will not fall below agreed upon levels.

Budget authority will be increased, within the discretionary spending caps: for the National Institutes of Health (\$15.5 billion more over 5 years; last year \$13.65 billion was provided, which was a \$900 million increase over the previous year); for teen smoking cessation programs (\$825 million more over 5 years); for the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA; \$2.5 billion more over 5 years); and for the Child Care Block Grant (\$5 billion more over 5 years, which will double the amount given by 2002).

Miscellaneous:

- the firewall between defense and domestic discretionary spending will not be extended past FY 1999;
- the Violent Crime Reduction Trust fund will be extended through FY 2002;
- the functional levels will be adjusted from the reported levels with the intention of cutting travel funds by \$250 million and spending the money on after-school programs.

Sense of the Senate and sense of the Congress statements include the following:

- the tax code will sunset by 2002 and will be replaced with a simple and fair Federal tax system (see vote No 62);
- the Individuals with Disabilities Act should be fully funded at the originally promised level (40 percent of the costs of the mandates) before any funds are appropriated for new education programs;
- Congress and the President should work to balance the budget without counting Social Security trust fund surpluses, and should work on bipartisan legislation to reform the Social Security system;
- tax relief legislation enacted pursuant to the tax reserve fund in this resolution will include funding to improve taxpayers' rights and to reform Internal Revenue Service (IRS) penalty codes;
- the Defense Department will give the highest priority to moving toward fully funding the National Guard;
- the Finance Committee will, within its budget, make blending local and national Medicare payment rates a priority;
- the national Bipartisan Commission on Medicare should consider long-term care needs (this provision is not a specific recommendation to add a new program to Medicare); the Federal Government should inform the public about the financial risks posed by long-term care costs and that Medicare does not cover most of those costs; Americans should be encouraged to plan for

APRIL 2, 1998**VOTE NO. 84**

their own long-term care needs; and the upcoming National Summit on Retirement Income Savings should consider saving for long-term care costs;

- any funding regarding the reduction of so-called "greenhouse" gases will be made available through competitive, merit-based awards based on cost-effectiveness, and will not be limited to specific technologies or industries, and any tax incentives on reducing greenhouse gases will apply to any technologies employed that are at least as effective as the technology for which the incentive is given;

- tax relief should be directed to parents who are struggling to afford quality child care, including those parents who wish to stay at home to care for a child, and funding for the Child Care and Development Block Grant will be doubled;

- problems with the Federal Family Education Loan program should be resolved without harming students by causing the withdrawal of lenders;

- legislation will be enacted to accelerate the deductibility of health insurance for the self-employed;

- "funds should not be provided to put in effect the Kyoto Protocol prior to the Senate ratification in compliance with the requirements of the Byrd-Hagel Resolution and consistent with Administration assurances to Congress" (see 105th Congress, 1st session, vote No. 205);

- comprehensive tobacco legislation should increase the price of each pack of cigarettes sold by at least \$1.50 per pack within 3 years, not including other scheduled tax increases, and the increase should be indexed for inflation thereafter;

- any child care legislation that is passed will not discriminate against at-home parents (see vote No. 49);

- immunity from liability will not be provided to tobacco companies (see vote No. 51);

- legislation will be passed to restore Medicare recipients' right, if they so choose, to pay for doctor's services with non-Medicare funds (see vote No. 53);

- the Finance Committee will report legislation this year to use the budget surpluses to create Social Security Investment Retirement Accounts (IRAs; see vote No. 56);

- Congress should begin to phase out the marriage tax penalty this year (see vote No. 59);

- the entire tax code should be replaced with a simple and fair tax system, and an Internal Revenue Service (IRS) reform bill should be considered (see vote No. 62);

- the homeownership and charitable tax deductions should be retained (see vote No. 63);

- the Elderly Housing program will be funded at no less than its current level (see vote No. 66);

- budget rules will be changed to allow the costs of tax relief or Social Security reform to be offset by the savings from eliminating entire discretionary spending programs (see vote No. 68);

- the Senate will pass fundamental tax reform and a constitutional amendment to require supermajority votes in Congress to raise taxes (see vote No. 71);

- Congress will not enact new health care legislation that will make health insurance less affordable, increase the number of uninsured Americans, divert health care funds into litigation and bureaucracies, or result in political decisions being made on health care issues (see vote No. 72);

- the only appropriate use for any budget surplus is debt reduction or tax relief (see vote No. 74);

- a study will be conducted by the General Accounting Office (GAO), the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), and the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) on the advisability of paying disability benefits for smoking-related health problems to veterans and their survivors (see vote No. 76);

- budget surpluses and a portion of the Social Security payroll taxes should be used to finance Social Security IRAs (see vote No. 77);

- public land sales and other funding sources may be considered as means of paying for the landowner incentive program of the Endangered Species Recovery Act (see vote No. 79);

- Congress and the President should work to enact structural reforms in entitlement spending in 1998 and beyond that will keep total mandatory spending under 70 percent of the budget;

- the Secretary of Agriculture will use agricultural trade programs to promote, to the maximum extent practicable, the export of United States agricultural commodities and products;

- the repair and construction backlog affecting Bureau of Indian Affairs school facilities should be eliminated over a period of no more than 5 years, and the President should submit to Congress a plan for the orderly elimination of that backlog;

- Medicare recipients should not pay unreasonable or unpredictable out-of-pocket costs and should not be billed twice for the same services, and the Medicare program should not be hindered in screening for inappropriate or fraudulent claims;

- any tax relief given pursuant to this resolution will include a permanent extension of income averaging for farmers;

- the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the Secretary of Defense, and the Director of the Congressional Budget Office should develop a common estimate of the projected FY 1999 defense outlays no later than April 22, 1998;

- teacher training legislation will be enacted that will focus on local partnerships between private and public partners and on alternative certification to recruit knowledgeable and eager individuals;

VOTE NO. 84

APRIL 2, 1998

- law enforcement programs will be well funded, and funding for the Violent Crime Reduction Trust Fund will be continued to at least FY 2003;

- starting in FY 2000 all Federal civilian science and technology spending should be consolidated under one budget function category;

- future budget resolutions and presidential budget proposals should include 30-year estimates for each major entitlement program and should report on any payments made to reduce the public debt or unfunded liabilities of each major entitlement program;

- the President should submit with each budget resolution a study of the impact of the provisions of the budget on each generation of Americans and its long-term effect on each generation;

- \$2 million will be spent on circuit rides in the former Soviet Union to process refugees and conduct medical exams of refugees;

- funding for the Airport Improvement Program will not be reduced;

- the Farmland Protection Program will be reauthorized;

- the Defense Department should continue efforts to eliminate wasteful spending;

- the Federal Government must increase anti-terrorist efforts, including by completing and implementing a national strategy to protect our critical infrastructures;

- the Columbian National Police should be given at least 3 UH-60L Blackhawk utility helicopters;

- no funds appropriated by Congress should be used in support of using marijuana for medicinal purposes;

- the Senate should give priority to tax proposals that simplify the tax code, and should reject proposals that add greater complexity and increase compliance costs;

- Congress and the Administration should fulfill the intent of the Amtrak Reform and Accountability Act and appropriate sufficient funds in each of the next 5 years to enable Amtrak to implement its Strategic Business Plan, while preserving the integrity of the \$2.2 billion provided under the Taxpayer Relief Act for the statutory purpose of capital investment;

- the public display of the Ten Commandments in the Supreme Court, the Capitol building, the White House, and other government office and courthouses should be permitted as long as such display is constitutionally permissible;

- a multinational hemispheric alliance should be formed to combat illegal drug trafficking;

- funding for the Market Access Program should be fully maintained; and

- funding for the NIH should be doubled over 5 years and should be increased by \$2 billion in FY 1999.

Those favoring final passage contended:

We are very pleased to be considering a budget resolution that will result in surpluses for the next 5 years. All of those surpluses will be retained to strengthen Social Security. Additionally, if tobacco legislation is passed, all the resulting revenues will be retained to strengthen Medicare. The focus on Social Security and Medicare is not misplaced. By taking relatively small actions now, we can avoid the failure of those programs in the coming years. Through very difficult budgetary choices, we have brought the budget into balance; if we have the will to continue, we now have an opportunity to protect the country's future for decades to come. This budget will keep us on course. We urge its adoption.

Those opposing final passage contended:

The debate on this resolution has been constructive. Republicans and Democrats have agreed on many broad issues, such as the need to use the budget surpluses to strengthen Social Security. Nevertheless, broad policy issues emerged during the debate that make it necessary for us to vote against final passage. In general, Democrats were supportive of increasing taxing and spending on a few key priorities, including education and child care. Republicans, though, were adamant in their opposition to paying for such priorities with new taxes, even though doing so would not increase the deficit. Though this budget resolution is responsible, it does not reflect the right mix of priorities that should be pursued, so we urge our colleagues to vote against final passage.